

## THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE

Is published every Friday, at Salem, Columbian Co., Ohio, by the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society; and is the only paper in the Great West which advocates secession from pro-slavery governments and pro-slavery church organizations. It is edited by Benj. S. and J. Elizabeth Jones; and while urging upon the people the duty of holding "No union with Slaveholders," either Church or State, as the only consistent position an abolitionist can occupy, and as the best means for the destruction of slavery; it will, so far as its limits permit, give a history of the daily progress of the anti-slavery cause—exhibit the policy and practice of slaveholders, and by facts and arguments endeavor to increase the zeal and activity of every true lover of freedom. In addition to its anti-slavery matter, it will contain general news, choice extracts, moral tales, &c. It is to be hoped that all the friends of the Western Anti-Slavery Society—all the advocates of the Disunion movement, will do what they can to aid in the support of the paper, by extending its circulation. You who live in the West should sustain the paper that is published in your midst. The Bugle is printed on an imperial sheet and is furnished to subscribers on the following terms:

\$1.00 per annum, if paid on, or before the receipt of the 1st No.

\$1.25 if not paid in advance, but paid within 3 mos. of the time of subscribing; and \$1.50 if payment be delayed longer than 3 mos.

Subscription received for less than six months, and all payments to be made within 6 mos. of the time of subscribing. Subscriptions for less than one year to be paid invariably in advance.

We occasionally send numbers to those who are not subscribers, but who are believed to be interested in the dissemination of anti-slavery truth, with the hope that they will either subscribe themselves, or use their influence to extend its circulation among their friends.

Communications intended for insertion to be addressed to the Editors. All others to the Publishing Agent, JAMES BARNARD.

### TO SUBSCRIBERS AND AGENTS.

The publishers of the Bugle have been put to a great inconvenience and considerable expense, in consequence of those with whom they have business transactions neglecting to bear in mind a few necessary rules and regulations which may be thus stated:

1. In sending the name of a new subscriber or a remittance for an old one, write it distinctly, and give not only the name of the Post Office, but the name of the County and State in which said office is located.

2. When the Post Office address of a paper is to be changed, be particular to give the name of the office from which it is to be changed, as well as the one to which it is to be sent.

3. According to general usage, subscribers who do not give express notice to the contrary, are considered as willing to continue their subscriptions, and those who are in arrear cannot discontinue their paper, except at the option of the publishers, until all arrears are paid, and if they neglect or refuse to take their papers from the office to which they are directed, or move to other places without informing the publishers, and the paper is sent to the former direction, they are responsible for payment.

4. The Courts have decided that refusing to take a newspaper (for which the individual has subscribed) from the office, and removing and leaving it uncalled for, is prima facie evidence of intentional fraud.

5. If you wish to discontinue a paper, first pay all arrears, then request the publishers either personally, by letter from yourself, or through your Post Master to have it stopped.

From the Liberator.

### The Right and the Expedient.

It has ever been the proud distinction of the Old School Abolitionists, that they have from the first, taken for their practical maxim—"THE ABSOLUTE RIGHT IS THE HIGHEST EXPEDIENCE." In this sign have they gone forth, conquering and to conquer. The measure of their success has ever been in proportion to the fidelity with which they have acted up, in their doctrine and their life, to the highest idea of Anti-Slavery duty to which they had attained, at each successive point of their progress, without regard to the promptings of an apparent and superficial expediency. "Gradual, not immediate, Emancipation," cried Expediency, "if you would obtain the ear of the people, and hope for their help."

"Immediate Emancipation is the Right of the Slave and the Duty of the Master!" replied Anti-Slavery, "and I will demand nothing less!" And though the land was full of violence, and the people gnashed upon this truth with their teeth, it finally prevailed, so as now to be almost universally admitted as an axiom in ethics. "Conciliate the Church and the Clergy!" exclaimed Expediency, "or your influence is gone forever!" "Not if they stand hand and hand with Slavery!" answered Anti-Slavery, "let them perish first!" And, though the Clergy and the Church, who had followed after Anti-Slavery, with scarcely an exception, turned and followed after it no more, still its influence even on the Clergy, the Church and Religious bodies, increased, and multiplied an hundred fold.

And so to Political Expediency. "Vote, for this time only, for Harrison!" urged Expediency in the Hard Cider Campaign, "vote for the candidate of the North!" "I cannot trust the candidate of the North, whose course and whose pledges are satisfactory to the South," returned Anti-Slavery. "Support Clay, and keep out Texas!" shrieked Expediency in the campaign of 1844, "anybody rather than Polk and Annexation!" "Anybody rather than the fattener of sleek slaves, the impudent defender of Slavery on its merits, the compromiser away of the rights of the North!" responded Anti-Slavery. And Wisdom was justified of her children, in both cases. God said unto Harrison, almost at the very moment he and his partisans were saying unto their souls, "eat and drink, for thou hast much goods laid up for many years,"—Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee! And he died, and was buried, and John Tyler reigned in his stead! And when the question was raised of resi-

# ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

VOL. 4.—NO. 9.

SALEM, OHIO, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1848.

WHOLE NO. 165.

its remedy, is the high mission of the Abolitionists.—q.

From the North Star.

### An Address to the Colored People of the United States.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:—Under a solemn sense of duty, inspired by our relation to you as fellow sufferers under the multiplied and grievous wrongs to which we as a people are universally subjected, we, a portion of your brethren, assembled in National Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, take the liberty to address you on the subject of our mutual

rise, and as one falls, all must fall. Having now our feet on the rock of freedom, we must drag our brethren from the slimy depths of slavery, ignorance and ruin. Every one of us should be ashamed to consider himself free, while his brother is a slave. The wrongs of our brethren should be our constant theme. There should be no time too precious, no calling too holy, no place too sacred, to make room for this cause. We should not only feel it to be the cause of humanity, but the cause of Christianity, and fit for men and angels. We ask you to consecrate yourselves to this cause, as one of the most successful means of self-improvement. In the careful study of it, you will learn your own rights, and comprehend your own responsibilities, and, scan through the vista of coming time, your high, and God-appointed destiny. Many of the brightest and best of our number, have become such by their devotion to this cause, and the society of white Abolitionists. The latter have been willing to make themselves of no reputation for our sake, and in return, let us show ourselves worthy of their zeal and devotion. Attend Anti-Slavery meetings, show that you are interested in the subject, that you hate slavery, and love those who are laboring for its overthrow. Act with white Abolition Societies wherever you can, and where you cannot, get up Societies among yourselves, but without exclusiveness. It will be a long time before we gain all our rights; and although it may seem to conflict with our views of human brotherhood, we shall undoubtedly for many years be compelled to have institutions of a complexion character, in order to attain this very idea of human brotherhood. We would, however, advise our brethren to occupy memberships and stations among white persons, and in white institutions, just so fast as our rights are secured to us.

Never refuse to act with a white society or institution because it is white, or a black one, because it is black. But act with all men, without distinction of color. By so acting, we shall find many opportunities for removing prejudices and establishing the rights of all men. We may avail ourselves of white institutions, not because they are white, but because they afford a more convenient means of improvement. But we pass on these suggestions; to others which may be deemed more important. In the Convention that now addresses you, there has been much said on the subject of labor, and especially those departments of it, with which we as a class have long been identified. You will see by the resolutions there adopted on that subject, that the Convention themselves, as being nevertheless desirous of doing us a service, and therefore, counsel you to abandon them as speedily as possible, and to seek what are called the more respectable employments. While the Convention do not inculcate the doctrine that any kind of needful toil is in itself dishonorable, or that colored persons are to be exempt from what are called menial employments, they do not mean to say that such employments have been so long and universally filled by colored men as to become a badge of degradation, in that it has established the conviction that colored men are only fit for such employments. But we pass on these suggestions; to others which may be deemed more important. In the Convention that now addresses you, there has been much said on the subject of labor, and especially those departments of it, with which we as a class have long been identified. You will see by the resolutions there adopted on that subject, that the Convention themselves, as being nevertheless desirous of doing us a service, and therefore, counsel you to abandon them as speedily as possible, and to seek what are called the more respectable employments. While the Convention do not inculcate the doctrine that any kind of needful toil is in itself dishonorable, or that colored persons are to be exempt from what are called menial employments, they do not mean to say that such employments have been so long and universally filled by colored men as to become a badge of degradation, in that it has established the conviction that colored men are only fit for such employments. We therefore advise you, by all means, to cease from such employments, as far as practicable, by pressing into others. Try to get your sons into mechanical trades; press them into the blacksmith's shop, the machine shop, the joiner's shop, the wheelwright's shop, the cooper's shop, and the tailor's shop. Every blow of the sledge hammer, wielded by a able arm, is a powerful blow in support of our cause. Every colored mechanic, is, by virtue of circumstances, an elevator of his race. Every house built by black men, is a strong tower against the allied hosts of prejudice. It is impossible for us to attach too much importance to this aspect of the subject. Trades are important. Wherever a man may be thrown by misfortune, if he has in his hands a useful trade, he is useful to his fellow man, and will be esteemed accordingly, and of all men in the world who trade, we are the most needy.

Understand this, that independence is an essential condition of respectability. To be dependent, is to be degraded. "Men may indeed pity us, but they cannot respect us. We do not mean that we can become entirely independent of all men; that would be absurd and impossible, in the social state." But we mean that we must become equally independent with other members of the community. That other members of the community shall be as dependent upon us, as we upon them. That such is not now the case, is too plain to need an argument. The houses we live in are built by white men—the clothes we wear are made by white tailors—the hats on our heads are made by white hatmakers, and the shoes on our feet are made by white shoemakers, and the food that we eat, is raised and cultivated by white men. Now it is impossible that we should ever be respected as a people, while we are so universally and completely dependent upon white men for the necessities of life. We must make white persons as dependent upon us, as we are upon them. This cannot be done while we are found only in two or three kinds of employments, and those menial employments have their foundations chiefly in the white people. Sterner necessities will bring higher respect.

The fact is, we must not merely make the white man dependent upon us to shave him, but to feed him; not merely dependent upon us to black his boots, but to make them. A man is only in a small degree dependent on us, when he only needs his boots blacked, or his carpet bag carried; as a little less pride, and a little more industry on his part, may enable him to dispense with our services entirely. As wise men, it becomes us to look forward to a state of things which appears inevitable. The time will come, when those menial employments will afford less means of living than they now do. What shall a large class of our fellow coun-

trymen do, when white men find it economical to black their own boots, and shave themselves? What will they do, when white men learn to wash themselves? We warn you brethren, to seek other and more enduring vocations.

Let us entreat you to turn your attention to agriculture. Go to farming. Be tillers of the soil. On this point we could say much, but the time and space will not permit. Our cities are overrun with menial laborers, while the country is eloquently pleading for the hand of industry to till her soil, and reap the reward of honest labor. We beg and entreat you to have your money

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## COMMUNICATIONS.

GUILFORD, 10th mo. 2nd, 1848.

FRIENDS EDITORS:—

I find in the Anti-Slavery Bugle of the 22d ult., over the signature of Milo A. Townsend, a communication purporting to be a brief account of the proceedings of the Orthodox Yearly Meeting. In this production I find the author saying, that "so far nothing has been done by this large body of people, that will tend to benefit or enlighten the world—noting that will cause humanity to rejoice, or the slave in his chains to breathe one sigh, or drop one tear less. If the world is ever redeemed from its darkness and slavery, and Freedom's triumph hour shall come, it must be in spite of anything that the Friends are now doing to hasten so auspicious a day." Now, if our author found, or finds justification for the above sweeping animadversion of the Society of Friends in the unhappy existence, at this time, of a spirit of contention and division—in the fact, as he observes, "God's peculiar people" should be quarreling about Gurneyism and Wilberism, together with "a great deal of wrangling and contention about very small matters"—and also that it was "very obvious the sectarian animosity is becoming more virulent, and the party lines more distinctly drawn," I cannot, with the information I now possess of the circumstances leading to, and growing out of, the much-to-be-regretted split which took place in the Anti-Slavery Society of the United States some eight or ten years ago, see why he should not include the latter also in his general anathema.

To see the party "animosity," the scowl, the corroding acidity, the inflammatory acrimony, the enthusiastic denunciation, the wholesale censure, the biting sarcasm, the withering hate, struck off with a masterly hand and moulded with a giant intellect, equipped in a dress without a parallel, perhaps, in the English language, which characterized the proceedings of those who made a very loud profession of their sincere regard for the oppressed of mankind—having outlived the day and time when "the elements of discord, ignorance, superstition, and sectarian partyism" should have cramped the liberal mind, we need only consult the journals and newspapers of those times.

If Friends "wrangled and contended about small matters" at their late Yearly Meeting, has not the Anti-Slavery Society been like guilty, and should therefore have a like retribution? Let him that is without fault cast the first stone.

Before comparing Friends to little "chili-mac on the sandwich stand the sand and dirt," because they found themselves unpleasantly contending "about Gurneyism and Wilberism," a subject which they, as a society, must necessarily investigate, and which to them was one of no ordinary importance, he should have blotted out of memory Garrisonites and Tappenites, or must forget the Liberty party and the Dissolutionists are continually contending and jarring about matters which, to impartial spectators may appear as small as Gurneyism and Wilberism did to him. This very unpleasant subject does properly belong to the Society of Friends as an organized body alone; not that men should be gagged, but that it could not reasonably be expected of others, not with them in Religious connection, should feel the same interest in it. Had not allusions been made with some particularity to this very unpleasant controversy, now disturbing the peace, and almost threatening the permanency of the Religious Society of Friends, in America, and the probability of the communication meeting the eye of those not acquainted with its nature. I should not have taxed your time for a moment. But as it is, I thought it nothing more than fair that something should be said on the opposite side.

Friends have always been distinguished from all other Religious denominations, or organizations, not only as regards religious faith and doctrines, and their very peculiar views of many portions of the Holy Scriptures, but also as respects their Discipline, or code of laws for church government; being truly democratic in its character; no other, they conceive can be properly deduced from a just interpretation of the doctrines of Christianity.

Every organization, religious, political, moral or scientific, must agree upon some rule or law for its government. While its members are willing to observe these rules, they are consistent and admitted to all that these laws, allow of the full enjoyment of membership; but when any neglect or violate them, they are at once subject to the penalty of the transgression, and can no longer claim a just right to the privileges and benefits of such organizations.

The Ohio Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends held at Mount Pleasant in the year 1819, agreed upon a set of rules or Discipline, the introduction of which thus commences: "In the morning of the gospel day, the apostles and disciples found it necessary to meet together for the consolation and strength of one another, when, pursuant to the nature and design of the gospel, which brought peace on earth and good will to man; a care arose for the edification of the church, and that all being of one family, might be of one mind." In this book of Discipline it is strongly enjoined that their "Meetings for Discipline, be kept select"—that "after a

charge against a member for disorderly conduct is entered on the minutes of a meeting for Discipline, he or she should not be permitted to sit in any meetings for Discipline, until the case is determined, and the meeting satisfied. And further, "that elders, overseers, and others concerned for the support of the Discipline exercise a care that meetings for business be kept select, *not permitting those who have not a right of membership among us to sit in those meetings.*" And the usages of this religious organization have uniformly been in accordance with this injunction, and so much stress is placed upon it, that the Advices annually read in all the subordinate meetings, "further recommends that all the meetings for business be kept select, &c." Now in the face of all this, our author would say, "Five days have been spent by a large body of men in disputing about matters of no importance, chiefly upon the question whether *three disowned Wilberites*, from New England should be allowed to sit during their meetings of business; the Gurneyites protesting against their proceeding to business until these "outsiders withdrew," at the same time *very modestly* denominating B. W. Ladd, commander-in-chief of this Yearly Meeting. He who in conjunction with Benjamin Hoyal, was active in instigating the dragging out of Abby Kelly, some three years ago, when she *intruded* herself amongst them to lift up her eloquent voice for the perishing and the dumb! Why should not Benjamin W. Ladd, speak with authority on this subject; since he looked upon the intrusion of these persons from New England, as an aggravated subversion of the order and Discipline of the Society. For those persons had no more lawful right to sit in those meetings, than had Milo A. Townsend, who acknowledges having been thrown "overboard some years ago" or any other individual who had never been a member. The Anti-Slavery Friends of Indiana—since for conscience sake they withdrew from the main body of Friends—have never in a single instance, acted thus disorderly and unchristian. Indeed I cannot see how concerned Friends could consent to proceed to business under such circumstances. If the Wilberites, (as they are called, more properly I think, Factionists) were determined, with Benj. Hoyal at their head, to carry their measures at all hazards, in open violation of Discipline order, and Christian sobriety; why did they not like the Anti-Slavery Friends of Indiana, withdraw decently, orderly, honorably, and conduct their own affairs in their own way un molested by *the unsound Gurneyites*, who happened to be in religious connection with every Orthodox Yearly Meeting.

As a body, are standing in the way of the slave's deliverance and the world's redemption," it is in a great measure, owing to these disorderly members, to the conduct of such, as at last Yearly Meeting, violated the Discipline for party purposes. There are several other points I had intended to notice, but my paper and time admonish me to close.

Yours for humanity and truth,  
J. P. GRUWELL.

COLBRAN, Ohio, October 9th, 1818.

FRIENDS JONES:—

More than ever am I convinced of the importance of the Disunion agitation. I believe it to be the only honorable and righteous exodus from the awful curse of Slavery.—Surely it is as great a truth now as ever, "That all men are created free and equal,"—that they possess an inherent right to "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness,"—and that it is an outrage to dispossess any human being of this right.

Yet we are called upon to unite with a movement that has for its object, not the entire prohibition of slavery, but merely to restrict it to its present limits; and we are, moreover, told that this is true Abolitionism. Is it so? Certainly not. No true lover of Liberty can unite with it, because it virtually denies the self-evident truth, that "All men are created free and equal,"

I regard this Wilmette Proviso movement as cringing and servile. Those who embark in it, profess to see that slavery is a dire curse. They see that it is, as it were, sapping the very life blood of the nation. They see this American Juggernaut annually crushing its thousands under its ponderous wheels.

They prostrate themselves, in a supplicating posture, before the Idol. They say to it, "We will continue to sacrifice annually our thousands to thee, as we have heretofore done."

We know that thou delightest in all manner of iniquity. The blood of thy victims, warn and smoking on the altar of oppression, is pure incense to thee. Go on, tearing asunder the nearest and dearest ties of affection!

Continue to deprive thy victims of the Bible—that Book which is alone able to direct the wanderer through "life's thorny vale," to a bower of eternal happiness. Go on with thy wholesale prostitution and corruption—but we beseech of thee to only restrain these things to their present limits.

Such is emphatically the posture of the Free Soilites. And is this Abolitionism?—I leave the reader to decide. Remember that this movement does not propose to strike the feters from the limbs of a single slave that now breathes. But we are told that the reform must be brought about gradually—that it will not do to force this matter. But "cease to do evil," and that immediately, is the injunction. Besides, I do not believe

that Slavery will be abolished in this way. It must be done through revolution. I believe that history—both profane and ecclesiastical—will bear me out in the assertion, that when once an evil has been embodied into an organization, as one of its cardinal principles, that this evil has never been eradicated, by remaining in connection with that organization, or by joining it for that purpose. The reason is obvious. It is because in supporting that organization we necessarily support the evil connected with it. Now this government is organized. It is based upon a written constitution; and in this constitution slavery is recognized. In supporting it, then, we necessarily sanction slavery. Therefore it is utterly impossible, by so doing, to advance the cause of Liberty. But some will say history will not support me in this position. They will point to the abolition of slavery in the Ottoman Empire, Barbary States, and the British West Indies. But Turkey and the Barbary States are not strictly organizations. They are absolute monarchies—what is law there to-day may not be to-morrow—the wills of their sovereigns constitute their laws; and it was they that abolished slavery. Neither was slavery an incorporated principle of the British government—it existed in her colonies only temporarily. But, on the contrary, history is replete with re formations, brought about on the principle of Disunion. These all are familiar with.

Yours as ever,

J. W. NEWPORT.

FRIENDS EDITORS:—

It is with some degree of diffidence that I presume to address a thought to you, but I have resolved to do so.

Not long since, I found myself in conflict with a pro-slavery priest, whose natural power were in my opinion such, that his priestly influence was all that rendered him a subject worthy of attention. I succeeded in showing up his pro-slavery, (he of course claiming to be anti-slavery) according to my wishes.—Now what I want is to tell you how he took himself off. After our last personal encounter, in which I gave him all I could in conscience (for I always pitied a fellow foe, even though he might be the devil himself,) he went into his pulpit, where of course he was safe, and in the midst of a sermon made use of the following: "Shall I quarrel with my neighbor, or find fault with him, because it hath not pleased the omniscient creator of us all to bestow upon him the same degree of mental power, or the same extent of intellectual capacity which he hath mercifully seen fit in his great wisdom, and kindness, to confer upon myself?" It was of course overwhelming.

I was disarmed—floored, served up, gun spiked, completely so; and since, I have borne making any attempt of the kind, because I have not yet been able to make a journey to Fowler, the Phrenologist, to find whether I am or not inevitably *idiotic*.

But I should never have troubled you with the foregoing, had I not observed in No. 5, that the thoughts of all great men, as Sylvester Graham said, while reading a speech of the "godlike Daniel," are inclined to run in similar channel." The thoughts I allude to, are in your leader, the closing sentence is as follows: "If we were to speak of those, who, with the best intentions are too weak to resist the temptation to vote, when it comes in no more formidable a guise than Free Soil and Martin Van Buren, it would be unkind and unjust to censure a feeble man because he could not bear the burden or do the labor of a strong one"!!!

Now, friends, I am not at present going to comment. I will act upon the admonition of the crowing fowl, who chanced to get into a stable with some race horses: "We must be careful," said he, "and not step on one another." But believing you are, as you intimate, tender, kind and just to the *feeble* and the *weak*, I ask that you would give the foregoing a place in your paper, and soon if ever.

I remain yours for the release of the bondman.

M. S. BEACH.

Vernon, Oct. 3rd, 1818.

[We give place to the foregoing because the writer requests it, and not that we see any particular force in the article. M. S. B., though not a Disunionist, we suspect applies to himself the quoted remarks of ours relative to some Disunionists, who we were told intended to vote for Van Buren, and whom we endeavored to classify, though scarcely believing they would do such a scurvy thing.]

A TEXAS JUDGE IN NEW MEXICO.—We learn from the Fayette (Howard county) Times, that Judge Beard and family, of Texas, passed up the river last Sunday week, on his way to New Mexico. He goes out by authority of the Governor of Texas, as Judge of New Mexico. Texas intends, we suppose, to assert her paper title, and the confession of President Polk in support of her claim to the land and the jurisdiction of that part of the country known as New Mexico. If successful in establishing her right, as may very possibly be the case—President Polk having already acknowledged it—the introduction of slavery goes with it.—This is a condition of things which the Northern folks do not seem to have considered, although the President doubtless did, when he recognized the right of Texas to the soil and jurisdiction upon the shabbiest pretext that ever governed a statesman in so important a matter. The South well knew that

## ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

SALEM, OCTOBER 20, 1848.

"I LOVE AGITATION WHEN THERE IS CAUSE FOR IT—THE ALARM BELL WHICH STARTLES THE INHABITANTS OF A CITY, SAVES THEM FROM BEING BURNED IN THEIR BEDS.—Edmund Burke.

Persons having business connected with the paper, will please call on James Barnaby, corner of Main and Chestnut sts.

The Amistad Africans.

The discussion pro and con of the Free Soil movement, and the investigation of the past and present position of some of the leaders in it, cannot but result in good in more ways than one. Since the nomination of Martin Van Buren, his political opponents have dragged from the grave of the past, every one of his official acts which told in favor of slavery, and paraded their skeleton forms in the broad sunlight of the present.—Some of these, it must be admitted have rather an ugly look; but the friends of the Free Soil movement have endeavored to send a part of them back to their resting place, and to clothe the others in such apologies or palliations as they best can.

His conduct in regard to the Amistad Africans has of late been made the subject of much comment, and documentary evidence has been adduced on the one hand to prove that it was the very *seme of injustice*—an act of absolute despotism; while on the other hand, letters and opinions of great men are produced to show that it was not really so bad after all. We well remember the indignation which every abolitionist felt at the time of the trial of these captives, when it was ascertained that Martin Van Buren designed interposing his official authority to aid the pirates Ruiz and Montes in the reclamation of their alleged slaves. The act was denounced as infamous, the name of Van Buren was spit upon, and his character held up as most detestable. It may be that the abolitionists of 1840 suffered their sympathies to become too much excited, it may be their language was ill-judged and fanatical, but of this we are not yet convinced. So

far as our knowledge extended, there was not a single one who claimed to be an abolitionist who then believed that the censures bestowed upon the Executive were any too severe. But it is not so now. Soil convention to have all his unrepented pro-slavery acts placed in as favorable a position as possible, and therefore many are engaged in seeking

babily never stoop to do, were he not their candidate. But suppose all they urge is true, suppose the history of the last eight years has placed those actions of Martin Van Buren which abolitionists once so emphatically condemned in a more favorable light; what is the lesson that is taught, what is the inference that should be drawn? Simply this: that the Whig and Democratic nominees for the Presidency should not be so severely censured for their supposed relations to the system of slavery, lest, when eight years more have rolled by, professed abolitionists will find it necessary or expedient to show that they were not so much in favor of slavery after all. Who knows but the apparent servility of Cass may be made to seem no more than ordinary courtesy; and Taylor's importation of blood-hounds an act as laudable as the introduction of Durham cattle or Merino sheep?

But let us refer to the facts in relation to the Amistad Africans, and see whether they have improved—as wise is said to do—by age. Of course no one can object to this, for as Martin Van Buren has left his retirement, and again entered upon the stage of public life, it will not be considered indecorous or uncourteous to speak of his deeds while acting as Executive of this nation. Our objection in so doing is not to extenuate, as is evidently the case with some, or to set down aught in malice, as may be true of others; we desire simply to present facts as they are.

The correspondence in relation to this matter which was laid before Congress contains but one letter written by the Executive, although Forsyth, then Secretary of State, frequently refers to the opinions of the President. That letter was written, as will appear, while the case of the Africans was before the Circuit Court of Connecticut.

The Marshal of the United States for the District of Connecticut will deliver over to Dr. John J. Payne, of the United States Navy, and aid in conveying on board the Schooner Grampus, under his command, all the negroes late of the Spanish Schooner Amistad, in his custody, under process now pending before the Circuit Court of the U. States, for the District of Connecticut. For so doing, this order will be his warrant.

"Given under my hand, at this city of Washington, this seventh day of January, A. D. 1848.

MARTIN VAN BUREN."

It is urged by some that Van Buren did not intend to interfere with the court, although the order is to deliver over the negroes "under process now pending." However this may be, it cannot be denied that he designed to prevent the negroes having an opportunity to prosecute an appeal, provided the decision of the court was against them. The whole country was deeply interested in the issue of this trial. The South well knew that

a decision in favor of the Africans would operate with tremendous power against slavery, and they strained every nerve to forestall it. The North, or at least the liberty loving portion, felt that a great principle was involved in the issue, and they were as energetic and as determined as the South. The contest was not simply between two Spaniards on the one side, and forty Africans on the other, but it was a contest between Slavery and Freedom. Van Buren fraternized with those who battled for the former; and through his Secretary of State, he in substance informed the Marshal to whom the foregoing order was addressed, that if the decision of the Court was adverse to the negroes, they were to be hurried on board the Grampus, taking it for granted that they would not appeal from such a decision. The commander of that vessel was ordered to deliver them to the Captain General of Cuba, under whose laws Martin Van Buren well knew that many of them would be doomed to death for attempting what the revolutionary fathers succeeded in effecting. John Quincy Adams, the father of the Free Soil nominee for the Vice Presidency, in one of his speeches referred to the document quoted and says:

"This order (to take the negroes) was on its face positive, sweeping, unconstitutional. No specification of persons, names, not even their number; all the negroes, late of the Spanish Schooner Amistad, in his custody, under process now pending before the Circuit Court of the United States. Was this order given in a country where the Rights of Persons were words without meaning? In the Kingdom of Dahomey? In the region where the Bowstring is the warrant of Execution? It was given in the land of the Declaration of Independence—in the land of the Self-evident Truth. It was given by a President of the United States!

"It was of course null and void; and, if before the decision of the Court, it had been delivered to the Marshal, and he had executed it, he would have staked not only the lives of the negroes, but his own head, and that of Martin Van Buren, the signer of the order, upon the event."

Now if Martin Van Buren has given evidence of his sincere repentance for this outrage upon liberty, it would be unjust and ungenerous to remember it against him. Has he done so? In his letter to the Barnburners' Convention at Utica, he said:

"The extent to which I have sustained it [Slavery] in the various stations I have occupied is known to the country. I was at the time well aware that I went further in this respect than many of my best friends could approve. But deeply penetrated by the conviction that slavery was the only subject which could endanger our blessed Union, I was determined that no effort on my part, within the pale of the Constitution, should be wanting to sustain its compromises as they were understood, and it is now a source of consolation to me that I pursued the course I then adopted."

The same spirit that led him to sustain slavery within the Constitution, and upon American soil, doubtless led him to act as he did in the case of the Amistad Africans, for the South made the controversy between the Spanish pirates and the African captives their own, and they demanded that the supporters of American slavery should rally to the defense of Cuban chattel; that they who were pledged to sustain the infernal system here, must do it by sustaining it there—and Martin Van Buren did so. If he has repented of this great sin before God, let the people have the evidence of it. Instead of the lame apologies of his supporters for the deed, let the public hear his honest condemnation of it. Martin Van Buren did what he could to deprive the captives of the Amistad of such trial as they were entitled to, and to place them in the hands of the Captain General of Cuba to be treated as assassins—to be whipped and tortured and hung; let him now declare whether he has repented of this great wickedness, or has not.

PRISONER'S FRIEND.—The October No. of this work is received. It is illustrated with an engraving of Dudley Castle, and contains a large amount of valuable matter from the pen of its editor and contributors, as well as in the form of selected articles. The change of this paper from a weekly to a monthly we infer has been favorably received. Those who desire to preserve a history of the progress of prison reform in this country, should possess themselves of a copy.

The UNION for October is very fine. Its embellishment of "The Bitter Morning" is true to life, and the tale which illustrates it, is capital told—it bears hard upon mere theoretical philanthropists. "The Hotel de Ville"—the Town Hall of Paris—is handsomely engraved, and is especially appropriate to the times. Mrs. Kirkland's "Sightseeing in Europe" continues to be interesting and instructive. Frances S. Osgood contributes a poem—"God loves him still"—which is worth the price of the volume, and its presence in a popular magazine indicates that a better feeling is beginning to pervade society, a feeling which recognizes the brotherhood of all, and the claim of all to kindness and consideration, and which prompts the bestowal of labor for the reclamation of the earth.

MARTIN VAN BUREN."

It is urged by some that Van Buren did not intend to interfere with the court, although the order is to deliver over the negroes "under process now pending." However this may be, it cannot be denied that he designed to prevent the negroes having an opportunity to prosecute an appeal, provided the decision of the court was against them. The whole country was deeply interested in the issue of this trial. The South well knew that

the Liberty Leaguers of Ohio have nominated an electoral ticket. Their views of the Constitution appear to



## POETRY.

For the Bugle.

### The Glory of War.

The maiden sat within her bower,  
The green leaves waved above her head;  
Around her many a vernal flower  
Its perfume on the breezes shed.  
Oh, she was beautiful and fair  
As the creation of a dream!  
How brightly wad' her golden hair;  
How gently did her blue eye beam.  
Her cheek was summer sunset's glow,  
Her lips the freshly opening rose,  
While her fair neck and polished brow  
Were pure as Winter's unstained snows.  
She sang—the bird that from the plain  
Mounts up to greet the rising day,  
Hath never trialed a sweeter strain—  
O listen to her blithesome lay:

"My lover is a warrior brave;  
To win green laurels he hath gone,  
Above his stony banners he hath  
And thrilling music cheers him on.  
When Spring again with light and bloom  
Shall deck the hill and mountain side,  
Then shall my gallant chieftain come  
To claim me as his promised bride."  
Thus sang she, while no gloomy fear  
Of coming sorrow filled her soul,  
The sky above bent blue and clear,  
She heard no warning thunder roll.  
And thus she dreamed her life should be,  
Calm and serene, and full of light;  
Ah! fond young heart, how dark to thee  
Shall come the wild and stormy night!

Where rolled the awful storm of strife  
O'er the red field of Monterey,  
While poured the crimson stream of life  
Fast from his side, a soldier lay.

He saw no banners waving high,  
He heard no trumpets cheering tone,  
He saw the dead around him lie,  
He heard the dying faintly moan.  
Far from his mother's fond embrace,  
Far from his loved and promised bride;  
Upward he turned his pallid face,  
And murmuring 'Heaven forgive me,' died.

Above him in that awful hour  
Curled the dread cannon's smoke and flame  
O, maiden, in thy far off bower—  
This was thy lover's wreath of fame!

### C. L. M.

### Song of the Spirit of Poverty.

BY ELIZA COOK.

A song, a song, for the Beldame Queen,  
A Queen that the world knows well,  
Whose portal of state is the workhouse gate,  
And throned the prison cell.

I have been crowned in every land  
With nightshade steeped in tears,  
I've a dog-knawn bone for my sceptre wands,  
Which the proudest mortal fears.

No gem I wear in my tangled hair,  
No golden vest I own,  
No radiant glow tints check or brow—  
Yet say, who dares my frown!

Oh, I am Queen of a ghastly court,  
And the handmaids that I keep  
Are such phantom things as never brings  
To haunt the fitful sleep.

See, see, they come in my haggard train,  
With jagged and matted locks  
Hanging round them as rough as the wild  
steed's mane,  
Or the black weed on the rocks.

They come with broad and horny palms,  
They come in maniac guise,  
With angled chins and yellow skins,  
And hollow starting eyes.

They come to be girded with leather and  
link,  
And away at my bidding they go.  
To toil where the soulless brast would shrink,  
In the deep damp caverns below.

Daughters of beauty, they like ye,  
Are of gentle womankind,  
And wonder not if little there be  
Of angel form and mind.

If I'd hold your cheeks by as close a pinch,  
Would that flourishing rose be found?  
If I'd dole you a crust out, inch by inch,  
Would your arms have been so round?

Oh, I am Queen, with a despot rule,  
That crushes to the dust!  
The laws I deal hear no appeal,  
Though ruthless and unjust.

I deaden the bosom and darken the brain  
With the might of the demon's skill;  
The heart may struggle, but struggle vain,  
As I grapple it harder still.

Oh, come with me, and ye shall see  
How well I begin the day.  
For I'll hie to the hungriest slave I have,  
And snatch his loaf away!

Oh, come with me, and ye shall see  
How my skeleton victims fall;  
How I ride the graves without a stone,  
And the coffins without a pall.

Then a song, a song for the Beldame Queen;  
A Queen that ye fear right well;  
For my portal of state is the workhouse gate,  
And my throne the prison-cell!

### The Cry of the Artisan.

Up and down—up and down!  
I have wandered through the town;  
Through the street, the field, the lane,  
I have sought for work in vain—  
I have sought from morning's light  
Till the stars shone forth at night;  
Sad returning I have said,  
'Would to God that I were dead!'

Give me toil—give me toil!  
To weave the wool or till the soil;  
Give me leave to earn my bread,  
I care not how I spade or tread,  
Give me work, 'tis all I ask;  
No master what may be my task!  
I have health and strength as yet.

To and fro—to and fro—  
Still with weary limbs I go.  
One by one my hopes depart,  
Not a joy lives in my heart.  
While I struggle through each day,  
There's no star to cheer my way;  
While I wrestle with my chain,  
Madness hounds round my brain.

God! can it be that mortal man  
Shall mar Thy great and mighty plan?  
Thou hast sent, with bounteous hand,  
Enough for all throughout the land;  
Thou hast filled the earth with food,  
Then pronounced Thy work was 'good.'  
Thou who reign'st supreme on high,  
All unheeded shall we cry?

No; a sound is on the breeze,  
And the words I hear are these:  
Give us labor—give us bread!  
And the fearful cry has sped  
Over far-off lands away,  
Lighting up a brighter day;  
For a nation's voice hath said,  
Who bears the yoke shall have the bread!

### MISCELLANEOUS.

From *Chambers' Miscellany.*

### Story of Jacquard.

On a day of autumn, in the year 1735, in an upper apartment of a wretched house situated in one of the back streets of Lyons, through the windows of which the sun cast a feeble and doubtful light, owing to the numberless patches of paper which supplied the place of glass, four persons were engaged weaving the gold and silver tissue for 'which that town is so celebrated.' Though the movement of the machine itself was brisk, yet a painful silence reigned in the small apartment, no sound being heard but that of the shuttle and cords as they were put in motion. In front of the loom, seated on a high bench, was a man of about forty years of age, working his feet to the right and left, as a means of action to the treads or foot-borders of the cumbersome and ill-constructed machine. Near him sat a young woman, pale and emaciated, preparing the reeds on which the silk was rolled previous to being placed in the loom; whilst two young girls, in forced and painful attitudes, put the cords in motion.

At the time of which we speak, fearful were the sufferings of those who worked at this employment. Though badly remunerated, necessity obliged a continued and wearying application. It was painful to see the contrast of the rich stuffs, thus side by side, with the wretched clothing of the pale and miserable beings, whose knowledge of the gold, silver, and silk, alas! only consisted in the additional labor which the varied and elegant patterns entailed! Loud were the complaints of the *canuts*, or weavers, as to the smallness of their wages, and frequently had they committed outrages on this much contested point. They alleged that the manufacturers could afford to give larger payments for work, without recognizing the fact, that wages depend on the demand and supply of laborers; and therefore, that if wages are low, the only way to heighten them is by a reduction of the number of hands. Yet to be substantially beneficial, this would require to be done in all countries; for manufacturers, pressed on by competition, would naturally emigrate with their capital to places where wages were on the lowest scale. These principles, unhappily, were not understood by the person now introduced was a fair sample, both as respects toiling industry and an ignorance of the true causes of his excessive toil.

'Antoinette, do you know where I have gone to?' at length asked the man, Jacob by name, in a voice which spoke of fatigue.

'He went to the shopkeeper for some silk,' replied his wife.

'It is a long time since he went out.'

'Hardly two hours; still he is invariably obliged to wait. But, Marie, you appear to be in pain,' added she, addressing one of the young girls before alluded to.

'It is nothing, mother,' replied the girl; 'it will soon be time for sleep, when we can forget all our fatigue.'

'Yes, to recommend again to-morrow,' said the man.

'What would you wish, Charles?' asked his wife, with a look in which affection and resignation were mingled. 'Is not this season better than the last, when I have often seen you draw the belt tighter around your body, the more easily to support the pangs of hunger which exhausted your strength?—Though the work at present is hard, yet we have, thank God, enough to eat. Cheer up, my children! if the dinner has been meagre, we have at least a good supper of boiled chestnuts and lard, and as much bread as you wish to eat, my little ones.'

A slight expression of anguish, uttered by the youngest and most wretched looking of the girls, attracted the attention of the woman, who, turning towards her, asked if she was ill.

'No, aunt,' slowly replied the child, whose languid smile sadly belied her words.

'Would you wish to change with me, cousin?' asked Marie: 'my work seems easier than yours.'

'No; I am very well here,' feebly answered Josephine, her dim and sunken eyes, and her pallid countenance, expressing lassitude

more than suffering, but apparently unconscious of the attention of her cousin.

Another interval of silence ensued—a repose for the lips, but not for the body. But Josephine having again unconsciously moaned, the canut ceased his work as he gazed on her.

'Poor little one!' muttered he; then as if to drive away thought, he applied more vigorously to his labor.

'The wife of Jaubert the canut died yesterday. Were you aware of it, wife?' resumed the weaver.

'Heaven protect us! No. Of what did she die?' asked Antoinette.

'Of what did our daughters die last year?

'What caused the death, five years since, of my sister Marion, the mother of your poor cousin Josephine?' Of what do all the canuts die before their time? What but misery and exhaustion! Look at these children, wife!' continued he in a milder and lower tone, looking toward the young girls, who, fatigued by the unnatural position in which they were obliged to remain while moving the cords, had paid no attention to the conversation.

'Oh dear!' again sighed the feeble voice of little Josephine.

'Ay, wife, it is easy to see that she will soon follow her poor mother,' continued the man in a whisper, as he wiped the perspiration from his forehead.

'Do not speak thus, Charles,' said Antoinette with an involuntary shudder.

'Have you not perceived how cramped and deformed her limbs are? Even rest and quiet at night do not restore their shape.'

'Josephine has always been weak and sickly,' replied Antoinette, as seeking to deduce herself. 'When this piece is finished, I shall make her rest for some days, and she will be better after it. With Marie it is different; her paleness does not arise from sickness, but from confinement in this close and ill-ventilated room; a little out-door exercise will reinstate her health and good looks, for she has a naturally good constitution.'

'I am not proud, M. Brechet; we shall always be happy to see you; but I promise nothing—remember, I promise nothing.'

'Well, I am contented; to-morrow, then Pere Jacquard,' said the satinaire, as he rose and took leave, accompanied to the street door by Antoinette.

'Ah! she must I suppose, be clever? No, Pere Jacquard; I seek a companion, in fact, a wife.'

'I understand you now, M. Brechet.'

'And if you consent?'

'To what M. Brechet?'

'Say that you consent, Pere Jacquard—say that you consent; and you also, Madame Jacquard.'

'Is it that you should marry our daughter, M. Brechet? Asked Antoinette, whose expressive smile told that since his arrival she had divined the cause of his visit.

'If Mademoiselle Marie has no objection, said the satinaire.

'But,' said Jacquard, 'recollect that our daughter is poor, M. Brechet.'

'She is mild and uncomplaining.'

'She is not even pretty!'

'She pleases me, Pere Jacquard; and if I possess her good opinion—'

'There is no doubt of that, M. Brechet,' said the weaver briskly. 'She must indeed be hard to please if she does not like you, but I do not wish to give a promise.'

'And wherefore not?'

'Because you are rich, and we are poor; because little you are a satinaire, a volunteer, in fact, a gentleman wearing a sword, and we are nothing more than poor canuts: while you ride in your carriage, we walk on foot; you can order your clerk to carry your pieces of velvet or satin, while we are obliged to take our work to the shop, and with the pleasure of those who employ us; and for a thousand other reasons, M. Brechet.'

'Every one worse than the other, Pere Jacquard; however, I do not wish to take you by surprise. Reflect on what I have said, and all I ask at present is, to be allowed to repeat my visit.'

'I am not proud, M. Brechet; we shall always be happy to see you; but I promise nothing—remember, I promise nothing.'

'Well, I am contented; to-morrow, then Pere Jacquard,' said the satinaire, as he rose and took leave, accompanied to the street door by Antoinette.

### III.

The visit of M. Brechet, with its very remarkable revelation, roused many varied emotions in the minds of the poor family. After the departure of the handsome and fair-spoken suitor, the limbs of the weaver moved quicker than was their wont, while he slowly hummed a plaintive and monotonous ballad.

'A sure sign that father is out of humor,' whispered Marie to her cousin.

'Yes,' replied Josephine in the same tone.

'Do you suffer more than ordinary to-day, that your voice is so feeble?' asked Marie.

'Yes' again whispered the young girl.

'I also am ill, Josephine; but is not M. Brechet an engaging young man? Is he not, Josephine?'

'Yes' was still the only response.

'Listen, Josephine. Father will not always be so proud and distant to M. Brechet. He will not return him when mother speaks on the subject. It is true that women do not understand these things as well as men; but he will consent at last, and then I shall take you with me, and then you will not have to work any longer. Does not that give you pleasure? But you do not reply cousin!'

'The poor child again muttered 'Yes' but without taking any seeming interest in what was said her.

'Then my father,' continued Marie, 'shall not be killing himself with overwork, and in the slack season he shall not suffer from hunger; and then mother shall not any longer destroy her health by fretting, or by blind herself making canes: she will be able to recruit herself from time to time. And my brother, my little Joseph, shall not be a canut; he shall be a satinaire or volunteer, which ever he pleases; but for you, my little Josephine, I see that you must be a lady, and if my husband does not wish to support an idle girl, why I shall work for you myself. But why do you weep, Josephine; you are not well? Why do you not answer me?'

'I am very weak.'

'Your work is too hard for you.'

'I shall give it up.'

'What are you both singing in such a low tone?' asked the weaver, interrupting his labors.

'We are not singing, father; in my opinion it is yourself,' replied Marie with an affection of gaiety.

'Yes I sing to drive away care, Marie; but you never sing now as you were wont to do.'

'Marie, blushing, did not raise her head from her employment.

'As you see, Madame Jacquard,' hastily answered the mother.

'And the little Josephine?'

'Just as usual,' replied Antoinette.

'Where is my little friend, Joseph? I do not see him.'

'He is out at present, Monsieur, but will soon return.'

'Mr. Brechet,' said Jacquard abruptly, 'you are come, I suppose, to demand the three crowns I owe you?'

'What an opinion you must have of me! For shame! On the contrary, if you want two or three more, you have but to ask for them.'

The weaver raised his head as the steps were heard on the stairs. Josephine alone stirred not.

There soon entered a tall, delicate lad of thirteen years of age. It was Joseph, the son of Jacquard. Like the generality of the children of the canuts, he had an abounding and sad expression of countenance, which, when at rest, spoke of nothing remarkable; yet when his pale features were lit up by excitement or some sudden emotion, it changed his entire appearance. The truth is, Joseph was no ordinary boy. God had given him good natural facilities, which he had exerted himself to cultivate by reflection. Joseph was always thinking on some useful subject or other; but, silent and modest, his own family did not know the extent of his capacity. And this is not always the case with genius? The world, with its eyes turned to the clouds, does not see the great men in embryo who are lying at its feet.

'Where have you remained such a length of time?' asked the weaver of his son.

'First of all, here is the silk,' replied Joseph, handing a bundle to his mother; and now to tell you what detained me, father.—In returning from the shop of M. Guillaume, I met Toussaint, the son of Francais the canut; perceiving that he had been crying, I inquired the reason. 'My mother,' replied he, 'has broken the loom;